1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Lebzure, Kunwase (You-do-not-stroke-a-snake), son of *Lebkura*. In his time we fired arrows at the people on the Tɔng hills; there was a famine and we used to rob them. All the people, except Winkoŋo and Sia, rose against us, saying we were too proud. *Kunwase* was succeeded by *Kundizore* (Water-cannot-pull-down-a-hill), a son of *Sapelega*. There was also a war in his time which arose out of a quarrel during a hunting expedition, in which Bade and Yazore had taken part. Small-pox (called *Naba*, the Chief) also broke out in his time. *Kundizore* was succeeded by *Nalebseyo* (It-will-change-to-the-wet-season), son of *Kabu*. He was succeeded by *Pilibazaa* (Cover-them-all), son of *Bupaa*. During his time the Europeans came. *Pilibazaa* was taken by the white men to Gambaga and asked to pay two hundred cows because the Tɔng people had fired arrows at them (the Europeans). He died at Gambaga and was succeeded by *Kunbanbeo* (Cannot-know-to-morrow), a son of *Kundizore*. He was succeeded by *Yirisano* (Destroyer-of-compounds), alias *Dentele*, a son of *Lebenwana*. In his time the Europeans came and asked the Hill-people (Teŋ-zugu) to come and see them, but they refused. He was succeeded by myself, *Kpama*, son of *Pilibazaa*. I brought my father's bones from Gambaga, and they were buried outside his compound.'

The above list comprises twenty-eight names, and, with other similar genealogies, supplies us with an approximate estimate of the time when the foreigners from Mampurugu first extended their influence to embrace this area. The names of these Chiefs as here given are their titles only; it is forbidden to mention their real names. Such nicknames are called *sam-wur* in Talene, *saan-yure* in Nankane.

The ruling house at Tongo belongs to the *gwegmere* (lion) clan. When I recorded the above and the other histories which follow I had not as yet grasped the full significance of what I came to discover later, namely, that in recording the history of these migrations as supplied by the Chiefs, I was really only tracing the origins of a minute section of the population, i.e. of those who formed the upper ruling class, and not of their subjects, who formed the mass of the people. In consequence I am unable, in the present instance, to specify the clans to which the majority of the inhabitants of the 'towns', already given, really belong. In my notebooks I find these clans, in nearly every case, recorded as 'the lion clan'. This is only due, however, to my having fallen into the error of failing to distinguish between rulers and ruled, and imagining the histories told me by Chiefs and their following to be applicable also to their subjects. I do not make any apology however,

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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XXXVII

THE TALENSE (*continued*)

Tɔŋ-nab

THE ceremony I am about to describe was one which I witnessed on Sunday 6 May 1928. It was, perhaps, the most interesting and extraordinary of many curious rites which it has been my privilege to attend in the course of many years of anthropological field-work. Perhaps I regard it thus because particular associations have made it so for me, but I use the word 'extraordinary' advisedly, on account of the almost grotesque blending of the ultra-new with the things which are very old. Flying machines, motor-cars, and the cultivation of cocoa—these seem out of place with pagan gods and naked humanity, but in this ceremony all were mingled, and staged in a setting which must have been familiar to troglodyte man. *Tɔŋ-nab*[1] means literally the Chief of Tɔŋ. Its shrine is perhaps the best known in the country about which I write, and its fame and name have passed beyond the boundaries of the Northern Territories and reached as far down as to the sea-board towns of the Gold Coast.

'Its power is from God (*Na Tin*); its priest is the local *Ten'dan*'; its taboos, which must be observed by all its devotees, include the following avoidances:

(*a*) Clothes, when attending ceremonies in connexion with its cult.
(*b*) *Zia-kom* (corn and water mixed).
(*c*) Beer made from *zia*-corn.
(*d*) *Meya* (water turtle).
(*e*) *Sakur* (tortoise).
(*f*) *Bandog* (crocodile).
(*g*) *Wafo* (python).

An oath may be taken on this god, which runs: *M'po Tɔŋ nab la a zia koom* (I swear by *Tɔŋ nab* and its corn-water).

The home of this deity is in the Tong Hills, that beautiful low range which rises from the compound-scattered millet flats below. There seem to be two rendezvous at which the hundreds of pilgrims, who come from all quarters in the dry seasons to make their vows before this shrine, foregather. After climbing from the plains one enters a rugged

[1] It is also known as *Ta ni* and *Ta pwiga*.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Look to my sickness that it may cease. If any one is doing this to me, catch him for me, or kill him and let me get health and strength.'

Another: 'I was in my town when I heard of this god, that he is strong, so I came to lean on him that he may help me. I am a person who drinks gin always and I am become a drunkard. Help me to stop drinking. Again, whatever work I do, I get in debt. If some one is doing all this to me, let *nana* catch him or kill him for me.'

When I state that these supplicants were educated men and women, some of whom owned large businesses, well-furnished European houses, and not a few of them their own cars, in which they had come hundreds of miles to visit this pagan god, the power and influence of the old beliefs may readily be imagined. I need not multiply examples. All the petitions were based on the same formula—the god was *nana*, the supplicants had come to lean upon him (*dan nebo*). They were promised nothing. If their prayers were answered, they would bring back an offering. Nearly every one asked for 'money' or 'profit'.

When the service was ended, we all backed out again into the sunlight and were led, complete silence being enjoined upon us, to the entrance of the second cave. Here the offerings were sacrificed over a mound so smothered in congealed blood and feathers as to hide its surface completely.

The *Ten'dan'* lifted up a round stone and tapped it against this altar. Each person then handed him the offering he or she had brought. Its throat was cut, the blood flowed on the altar, and the sacrifice was cast down. My sheep was sacrificed last of all. The photograph, Fig. 77, shows the old *Ten'dan'* about to cut its throat. All this was carried out in complete silence. We all then returned to where every one had undressed, and each person was smeared with a line of red clay on the side of each cheek, between the breasts, on each forearm, on the legs and back. This ended the ceremony.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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NAMNAM

he would ask the *Ten'dan'* and be given a place to build, or a place to farm. After the harvest of the early millet, they would send millet to give "water" to the groves, and so too, after the corn harvest. If blood came from any one, except from the nose, and fell upon the land, the *Ten'dan'* had to purify it. If Chiefs sold any man in exchange for cattle, the *Ten'dan* was given one to give to the land, but when people were sold in a time of famine in exchange for food it was not customary to give anything, but the land would be angry and kill a member of that family who had sold their kinsman, even (extending its vengeance) to a member of their daughter's family who had married far away. The land is a female and "above" is a male. When I sacrifice I call upon my father to "reach" his father who will "reach" the grove. Birth, crops, the getting of wives, good sleep, depend upon the land, who tells *Wen* (God). When two people were about to fight, and the *Ten'dan'* went to stop them, he would lay down his staff between them and no man might shoot arrows over that. The staff is a corn stalk. Any one who disregarded that would die. *Tobeg'* and *taku*[1] have not anything to do with the *Ten'dan'*.

The Position of the Ten'dan' in Cases of Adultery, Theft, Murder, and Suicide.

Adultery: 'The head of the section settled such cases; it was not formerly a Chief's concern.'

Theft: 'In case of theft, the thief, if caught, would be taken to the one who "owned" (i.e. was responsible for) him, who would settle the matter. If the parties could not agree, the matter was taken to the head of the section, who would take it if necessary to the Chief. Since Europeans came we have the *Kambon-nab'*.'[2]

Murder: 'If a man from Nangoot was killed (murdered?) by a man from (say) Pelino, and the slayer was caught, he would be killed by those who chased him. Afterwards, the Pelino people would bring cows, and the people of Nangoot also, and give to the Chief who would then give some to the *Ten'dan'*, keeping the remainder to purify his skins. There is a hole below the skin on which a Chief sits for the blood to flow. The family who had had a member murdered did not receive anything. The Pelino people and the Nangoot people concerned would mix the flour and water which each will bring and make peace. Were the Pelino man, in such a case, to escape, and if the

[1] See Chapter XXVIII.

[2] According to the Chief, these officials were part of the old administration.

[1] [Nankanse concepts apply to persons who have directly and indirectly committed a murder — Analyst.]

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Kusase

173 622 793 die. He would tap the land with his fingers and say, "*Tey ya be, zagala saam ka nees tey la okom*" (If such a thing as the land really is, (here is) So-and-so who has offended and treated you as of no account, may you kill him).[1] The land will break his compound; his fowls, goats, sheep, children, wives will die. The offender would approach an Elder and "beat his hands" and ask him to intercede with the *Tenedan*' on his behalf. Chiefs now own the people, but *Tenedan*' still own the land. The first Chief of Kagbiri was my father. He was *Tenedan*' at the time when the Germans made him Chief. The present Chief is Ati, he is my father's child (i.e. son of the speaker's father's brother). My father, after the Germans made him Chief, used to delegate the work of *Tenedan*' to me, so when he died and Ati was made Chief we continued to do the same.'

177 793 622 171 At this place (Kagbiri) so far as I could see, we find the Territorial Ruler (who is not a foreigner, but one of the family of the former *Tenedan*'), and the *Tenedan*', 'his brother', working in complete harmony. The Germans, it will be noted, whether by accident or design, had made the *Tenedan*' also the Territorial Ruler. The significance of the rather curious and suggestive procedure—which I have also noted elsewhere—whereby a *Tenedan*' who, by chance, has become Chief, delegates the religious part of his duties to another, should not be overlooked. The multifarious administrative and executive duties, which the Territorial Ruler is asked by us to undertake, cannot be wholly responsible for this. This may be proved by an examination of the position of a Chief in Ashanti, where these two functions—religious and secular—are combined in one person. Perhaps the bad example set by the majority of foreign Chiefs in these parts, who were always unconcerned with local land-gods, may partly account for this. On the other hand, it must not be overlooked, that by far the most important religious duties performed by Ashanti Chiefs for their people are the ceremonies in connexion with their own ancestral spirits, in which their subjects now join, and not those rites in connexion with the land, which has tended to become alienated, although theoretically they still belong to the Stool. Many Northern Territory Rulers, while ignoring land gods, would, nevertheless, lay claim to the land. The following are some further notes on the duties and privileges of the *Tenedan*' among the Kusase.

793 [781] 'When the rain does not fall, the Elders consult the soothsayer and report to the *Tenedan*' what the *baa* (soothsayer) has told them. The

[1] Compare p. 370. (i.e. different practice among Namnam)

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

in their spare time, and chiefly in the dry season when there is no farm work. They are exceedingly few in numbers—one or two in a settlement —and their work is of mediocre quality. The only blacksmiths in Taleland are about a dozen men of the Sakpee clan of Tɛnzugu, and only one of them derives a substantial part of his livelihood from his craft. A leather-worker or two, a potteress, a sewer of caps, may be found in almost every settlement. Some men and women who are more skilful than their neighbours at making articles of common use such as hen-coops, baskets, bows, adze-shafts, &c., are in the habit of making a few for sale every dry season. The only specialized occupation is that of the diviner, and it, also, is a part-time occupation in addition to farming, though a popular diviner, making perhaps a shilling or eighteen pence a day, may farm less land than he normally would. Diviners are numerous. There may be as many as ten or twenty in a large settlement, but only one or two of them will earn more than a few pence a day by divining.

British Rule and Contact with Western Civilization

Until the time of my first visit to Taleland the natives had been very little influenced by the agencies of British government and of European civilization that are active in these parts. The main roads skirt Taleland so that the flow of north- and south-bound traffic by-passes the largest part of the area. Nevertheless, these roads have served to open up Taleland to a wider sphere of intercourse with other parts of the Gold Coast than was possible twenty years before. Political and social conditions made it impossible for people to travel freely beyond a radius of a few miles from their own settlements in former days. To-day young men and even women go in increasing numbers every year, in the dry season, to Tamale, Kumasi, or the coast towns. Some go to visit friends or relatives, some carry fowls for sale, others go as seasonal labourers, and others go to work abroad for a term of years. In 1923 the Administration of the Northern Territories reluctantly agreed to assist in the recruitment of labour for the mines and cocoa farms of Ashanti and the colony. The experiment failed and was soon abandoned. Nowadays labour migration from the Northern Territories is entirely voluntary. It has become linked up with the normal economic life of the natives. Whereas, in former years, a young man moved out temporarily to the periphery of settlement on account of a shortage of land in his natal community, nowadays he often goes to Ashanti or the mines as a labourer. The cessation of agricultural activity in the dry season makes it easy for a young man to get away for a few months without loss to the routine of farming.

Economic incentives, which the natives sum up as 'the desire for money', therefore lie behind much labour migration in the Northern Territories. And the value of money may be gauged from the fact that a hen could be bought for 6*d*. to 1*s*., a cow in good condition for £2. 10*s*., and a dish of porridge enough for a satisfying meal for 1/10 of a penny in any market in 1934–7. But there are other incentives as well. Curiosity, and the desire to see the places and experience the life which those who return from a stay abroad describe to their fellows at home, stimulate many a youth to go south for a short or long period. And friction with

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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relatives may impel a young man to run away to 'Kumasi', the symbol for everything south of the Black Volta.

Thus one finds that about one man in three has at some time or other in the past two decades visited these, to the Tallensi, still foreign parts. In the settlements near the main roads the dry-season migration of young men may, according to rough estimates made in 1936–7, reach over 10 per cent. of the adult male population. Administrative officers estimate that in 1938–9 about 7 per cent. of the adult male population of Taleland were working abroad with the apparent intention of staying away for a lengthy period. These men bring back small sums of money, ranging from a few shillings to four or five pounds, as well as clothes and other miscellaneous trade goods. Money and clothes[1] are eagerly desired by the Tallensi. These are the most important new wants that have grown up recently as a result of culture contact. Foreign utensils, implements, or tools have hardly entered the productive system of the natives. The foreign ideas and exotic information brought back by the young men arouse curiosity but have made no appreciable impression on the native scheme of values and beliefs, or on their practical knowledge. Labour migrants remain strongly attached to their families and natal settlements, and it is always assumed that they will eventually return. Hitherto, among the Tallensi, very few have been lost to their natal communities; and when they do return, they resume the traditional way of life. Though they are one of the influences modifying the strict letter of custom in minor respects, they are not a disintegrating ferment

[1] Tallensi maintain that there has been a tremendous increase in the amount of clothes worn since the white man opened up the country, and especially since the last war. They point out that nowadays every small boy has a loin-cloth for festive occasions, whereas even twenty years ago a youth only obtained one when he began courting, at the age of 18 or 19. In those days the ordinary man rarely had a cloth or tunic. His only garb was an animal skin. Nowadays every man has at least one cloth to cover himself at night and to wear during the day when he is not working, and many have two or three garments—a cloth and a tunic, for instance—while well-to-do men have considerable wardrobes. All cotton goods are imported. The Mossi cloth used in former days is still a favourite, especially for loin-cloths and caps, and tunics for special wear. The bulk of it is still imported from French territory, but there are some Mossi weavers at Bolɔga and Zuarungu who add to the supply. However, quite half if not more of the cotton goods worn by Tallensi is of European origin and the demand is increasing. I once listed all the clothes worn by a number of men and women from one of the most prosperous communities of Taleland as they passed my rest house on the way to the market. The figures are instructive as an indication both of the standard of living of the Tallensi and of the degree to which acculturation in this sphere has progressed. The sample consisted of 62 men and 64 women. Of the men, 35 (56 per cent.) wore cover-cloths of European cotton print; 18 (29 per cent.) wore Mossi cloths; 9 (15 per cent.) wore skins; 8 (13 per cent.) wore khaki shorts, several of them on top of native loin-cloths; the remainder wore native loin-cloths; 19 (30 per cent.) wore some form of European head-gear; 30 (48 per cent.) wore native-made caps. Thus 85 per cent. of these men were clothed, but none of them wholly. Of the women 12 (15 per cent.) wore a piece of cotton print and one wore a Mossi cloth—a very large incidence such as would not be found in most other Tale communities. The rest were nude, except for the perineal band and back-flap. As people dress up specially for market day, these figures are not indicative of everyday habits. The greater conservatism of women suggested by these figures is due in great part to their lack of opportunities for obtaining cash incomes for personal use.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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177 in the native social order. Apart from money and clothes, the material
167 articles, habits, and ideas which they have acquired abroad soon decay from disuse, or come to serve for ostentation only, since they have no functional relevance to the economic life and social structure of the native society.

178 The Tallensi, in short, still preserve the culture bequeathed to them by their forefathers and the social structure of their own, homogeneous society. Their economy is a primitive, static, subsistence economy. They continue to farm by the same methods and with the same tools and the same knowledge as their forefathers had. They grow no cash crops and produce no surplus of local crops for sale outside Taleland. The introduction of British currency and the opening up of the country have accelerated local exchange and slightly mitigated the hardship of winning a living by primitive technical methods from a soil of no great fertility. They have not otherwise affected the livelihood of 99 per cent. of the people.

797 Literacy and Christianity had, until 1936, barely touched the Tallensi.
872 A few children had been sent to school reluctantly in deference to the commands of the District Commissioners. Only one stayed the course and left school with a moderate command of English and the three R's. Two or three younger boys were still at school at Gambaga or Tamale. The nearest mission station to the Tallensi is that of the White Fathers at Bolɔga, outside Taleland. Up to 1936 the missionaries had made only an occasional visit of reconnaissance to the nearby Tale settlements. They had succeeded in attracting only two or three Tale youths to their school. These were the sons of two ambitious, and, from the native point of view, upstart headmen who were keen to have their sons taught the white man's skills the better to serve their own political ambitions. The only one of these youths who achieved a fair degree of literacy and accepted the Christian faith was in Government employment.

177 Most of the social changes that have occurred and are taking place with
636 increasing rapidity in Taleland are due to a single powerful extraneous
648 factor, British rule. The Tallensi, in common with other tribes of these parts, put up a truculent resistance to British rule at first, and had to be subjugated by military operations and other punitive measures. The last pocket of Tale resistance, in the Tong Hills, was finally broken by a small armed force in 1911. The people of the Hills were expelled from their ancestral homes, which were razed to the ground, and lived in exile on the plains at the foot of the hills until they were permitted to return in 1935. Judging by the scanty memoranda of the Administrative officers of the decade 1911–21, the Tallensi gave them a good deal of trouble.

609 These events are still vividly remembered by the natives. Their fear
636 and suspicion of the white man was not unnatural since they had never before met him. However, their subjugation and the subsequent imposition of peace have produced in them a deep respect for the might and power of the white man. They have since learnt to have complete confidence in the justice and good intentions of the Administrative officers. They speak with gratitude of the benefits which the white man's peace

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has brought them. But in the background there still lurk traces of fear and suspicion, a sense of the inscrutability of the white man.

The influence of British rule has naturally been most marked in Tale political life. At first it was directed towards two main ends: to maintain the peace between the Administration and the native communities as well as amongst the latter, and to ensure a sufficient supply of labour and local materials from the native population for keeping up roads and rest houses. The Administrative officers laid down boundaries, meted out justice, and backed up chiefs and headmen, mostly appointed by themselves, in the exercise of coercive powers over the mass of the people. Nothing was known about the country or the people, and the Administrative officers had to rely on their own sense of justice and their own ideas of what was in the interests of the population. The natives look back on this period with few regrets. They describe it as a time when extortion was widely practised not only by the police, the soldiers, the interpreters, and others who stood between them and the District Commissioners, but also by their newly empowered chiefs and headmen. They learnt to think of any official or unofficial servant of the white man as armed with arbitrary authority which it would be futile to resist.

The outstanding political changes due to this period were the authority given to chiefs and headmen, and the unofficial tribunals held by them. These grew up gradually out of the need to keep the peace; for the ancient method of settling disputes was by negotiation backed by armed self-help. From the native point of view the most valuable relic of this period is the embryonic legal system which grew up then. Armed self-help has disappeared, but some of the values connected with it remain. The other institutions of the native political organization retain their vigour. They function side by side with the institutions imposed by British rule, for they serve different ends and correspond to different values. It is often an uneasy partnership leading to insoluble conflicts. Most of the political troubles of the Tallensi since 1921 can be traced to the clash between interests and loyalties springing from the native political system and those created by the new political dispensation and its accompanying economic changes. For the first time in its history a few men of outstanding wealth have arisen in Taleland by extorting goods and services from their fellows on the strength of their political powers, or by exploiting opportunities due to the opening up of the country. And this has brought social friction in its train.

This period of British rule came to an end about 1931. Between 1931 and 1936 the Administration undertook a complete political reorganization of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. The principles of what is commonly called Indirect Rule were applied. Native Authorities were established, a graded scale of direct taxation was introduced, a policy of economic development was started, and social services were multiplied. The effects of this policy will not be discernible for some years.

Taleland is a very small portion of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. But in its culture and social structure, as in its geography and climate, it is typical of the whole plateau north of the Gambaga scarp.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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PLATE II

[facing p. 17]

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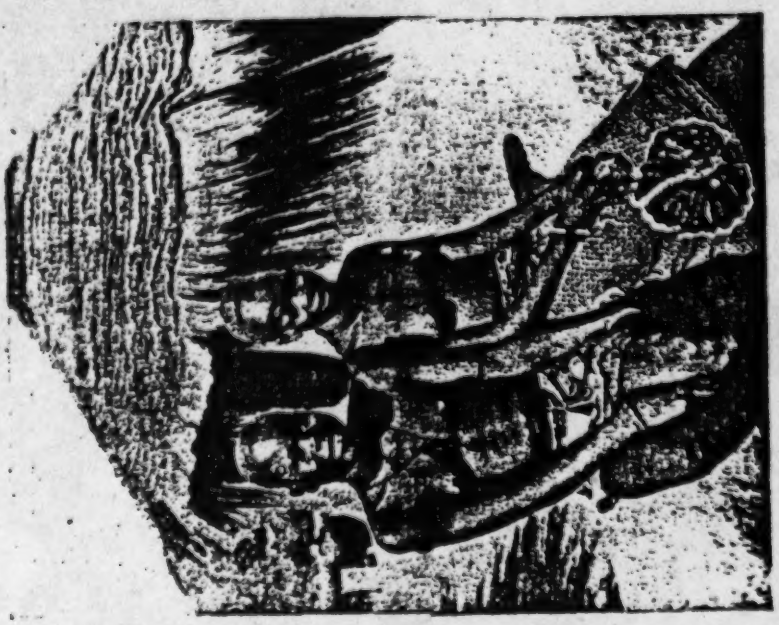

(b) A pair of marriageable maidens dressed up for a visit to the market.

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(a) A Tale grandmother.

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173 ideological significance as a counterweight to the Mosuor legend and
811 as a dogma of prior habitation.

[171] In the Sie district the Sawalɔg people, whose political and ceremonial relations with the Sie Namoos are exactly parallel to those of Gbizug with Tongo, also declare that their ancestor came into being miraculously, self-generated. In the identical phraseology of the people of Gbizug and Wakii, they say, 'Our ancestor descended from Heaven', or 'Our ancestor sprouted from the earth'. I once challenged the clan-head of Sawalɔg to prove how this was possible. His answer, shrewdly rationalistic, deserves to be recorded. 'We have not heard that our ancestor came from any other land. We have no other land to return to as the Sie people (immigrant Namoos) have. If they desecrate (*sayɔm*, lit. spoil) the land here, they return to their (original) land yonder (at Tongo). That is why we say that we have descended from Heaven'—an interpretation which coincides with that of Sayɔbazaa, the Namoo.

173 The covenant between Mosuor and Tɛndaan Gɛnɔt, again, accords
● 177 well with a myth which is but a projection into the unchallengeable past
622 of the present-day relationships between Gbizug and Tongo. The amorphous and unstandardized myths of origin with which the Hill Talis are satisfied symbolize the remarkable social integration they had achieved before their subjugation by the British in 1911. For nowadays the Hill Talis are rent by factions and by an intestine struggle for power amongst the various ritual office-holders. Rival claims are validated by citing established custom, by appealing to the memories of men, or, in the last resort, by the fabrication or distortion of myths of origin. The Administration recognizes as chiefs only those clan heads whose title is derived directly or indirectly from the Paramount Chief of the Mamprusi. Hence we find the Gɔlibdaana of Tɛnzugu justifying his pretensions to recognized chiefship by concocting, for the benefit of a white inquirer, a story of how the founder of his lineage migrated thither from Mampurugu—a story which his enemies scoff at. The Sii Bɔyaraan, on the other hand, tries to strengthen his claim to precedence by alleging not only a Mampuru origin for his ancestors, but also that they were the very first to come and settle on the Hills.

173 These new myths are part of the defensive ideologies engendered by social conflict, but they follow the axioms of Tale thought. The Tallensi have no conception of a mythological or historical past of their society when people lived and behaved differently from to-day. The past is but an extension into the days of their forefathers of the life of to-day on the same rational plane of existence. Their history is to them not a sequence of events or a progression but a continuity. All that matters of the past, which lies beyond the span of man's recollection, lives on in the social structure, the ideology, the morality, and institutions of to-day. These are the palpable proofs of things that happened '*oh ho, ti banam ni ti yaanam ni*—in the days of our forefathers and ancestors'; one can infer from them what must have been the state of society in those far-off times. Conversely, the social arrangements which prevail to-day are valid, sensible, and appropriate not only because they achieve desired ends but also because *banam ni yaanam ndaa piil na*—the forefathers and ancestors

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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622 These offices are either chiefship (*na'am*) (or its equivalent, the senior
793 office connected with an External *Bɔyar*) or tɛndaanaship.[1] Chiefship
[[814]] is primarily associated with the Namoos, though not exclusively so, tɛndaanaship with the clans and maximal lineages claiming to be the autochthonous inhabitants of the country, though, again, not exclusively so. Both chiefship and tɛndaanaship are, to the natives, unitary institutions made up of offices distributed among a number of clans and lineages. The range of these institutions is not even limited to Taleland. All chiefs are 'brothers' since they derive their office from a common source, the Paramount Chief of Mampurugu; all tɛndaanas, similarly, are 'brothers' since their office has the same function and ritual value everywhere in relation to the Earth. The chain of ritual collaboration is one expression of this notion.

622 Among the Tale chiefs (*na'ab*, pl. *nadɛm*) the Chief of Tongo (*Tɔŋraana*)
793 ranks highest. He has no political, administrative, or judicial authority
554 over any other chiefs, or any other clan than his own, but his office incarnates the quintessence of *na'am*. He represents all the chiefs of the country in the ritual attributes of chiefship. Tɛndaanas, in keeping with the elaborate segmentation of the clans in which this office is vested, are more equal in status. But in every cluster of closely interdependent contiguous clans there is one tɛndaana who ranks higher than his confreres. The Gbizug tɛndaana ranks above the tɛndaanas of Zubiuŋ, Gbeog, and Wakii, and the Doo tɛndaana above the other Tɛnzugu tɛndaanas.

622 As we have seen, the Earth cult and the External *Bɔyar* cult function
793 as polar opposites in the structural dynamics of the Hill Talis' clan system.[2] In terms of politico-ritual office it is chiefship and tɛndaanaship that have this polar relationship. Within a particular clan and between interdependent contiguous clans the complementary politico-ritual roles of chief (or his equivalent) and tɛndaana form the axis about which the body of moral, jural, and ritual values that binds the community into a unity revolves. Such a community may be a clan (as, for example, Dkoog) or a cluster of interdependent clans (as, for instance, Tongo and its immediate neighbours); and at the times of the Great Festival, the community that emerges includes all the Tallensi and some non-Tallensi.

Chiefs and tɛndaanas had no political power, as we understand it, before the coming of the white man. They had no administrative, or executive, and only rudimentary judicial powers. They were the leaders and not the rulers, the fathers and not the princes of their clans. Where the social ends served by the native political system are concerned, this pat-

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[1] We are concerned here with the role of these politico-ritual offices in the native social system as it was before the establishment of British rule and as it still functions vigorously in situations that fall outside the orbit of the British Administration's sanctions and demands. It is convenient, however, to follow the usage of the Administration in calling the functionary who holds the office of *na'am* a chief rather than overload our analysis with an excess of native titles. But there is no comparison between Tale 'chiefs' and the rulers of great African nations like the Ashanti or Bemba, or even the chiefs of southern Bantu tribes. Cf. *African Political Systems* previously cited. My article in that book deals more fully with the subject of this section.

[2] Cf. Chap. VII.

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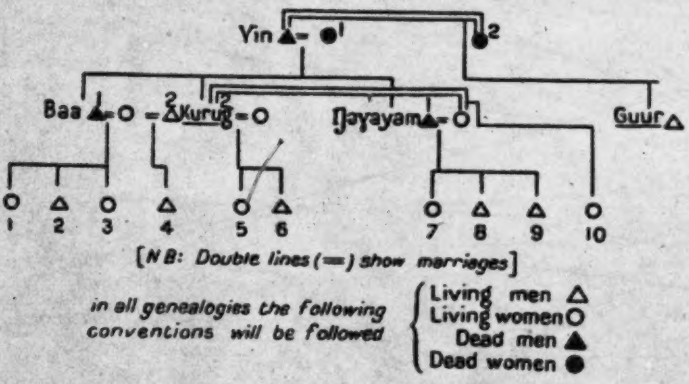
analysis. Yidaan-Yin-Kurug is as convenient a person for this as anybody else. Lean and angular, like most Tale men, with the greying hair of a man past middle age, he occupies homestead No. 6 in Puhug, near the rough track that used to be a Government-made road. He is a man of some substance as wealth goes in Tongo, a section headman[1] (*Kambɔnaaba*) and one of the lesser elders (*Kpɛmtaɣəlis*). But one would have to know the Tallensi very well to detect his status if one saw him in his usual garb of a loin-cloth stiff and greasy with body dirt, and an equally soiled body-cloth. Kurug is an average man of his age in Taleland, an industrious farmer by native standards, a law-abiding citizen, a loyal member of his section and of the settlement. (Cf. following genealogical chart and map at end of book.)



The unit of interest to us here includes: Kurug, the head (*kpeem*), his younger brother (*pit*) Guur, more strictly described as his *sunzɔ* (half-brother), his own children (*biis*), Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 10; his deceased older full-brother (*bier-soog*) Baa's children, Nos. 1, 2, 3; his deceased younger full-brother (*pit-soog*) Ɗaɣayam's children, Nos. 7, 8, 9. He describes these children of his dead brothers as his children (*biis*), and they speak of him as their father (*ba*). Except for two of the girls, who are married and therefore away from home, all the other children live under Kurug's roof and authority. His *pit*, Guur, is away too, in Mampurugu, where he went to live a few years ago.

This lineage is typical of what we may call the effective minimal lineage, that is, the lineage of the smallest span which emerges as a corporate unit in economic, jural, and ritual activities and is differentiated from other units of a like sort. It is not, it should be noted, an amorphous, internally undifferentiated unit; differences of generation, [redacted] and maternal origin regulate the relations between its members. What is more important, the

[1] These headmen are an innovation due to the British Administration. They are appointed by chiefs and other heads of clans or locally associated groups of clans to assist them in carrying out the tasks demanded by the Administration. Before 1933 a headman's position gave him many opportunities of enriching himself by extortion.

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This small sample is typical of the relationships that unite neighbours at Datɔk. The settlement is divided up into such clusters of homesteads, numbering anything from four or five homesteads to about a dozen, which have grown up around the homestead of a man who migrated to settle there forty or fifty years ago when Datɔk was still uninhabited bush.

Gradually the original settlers were joined by younger members of their lineages and kinsmen, migrating for economic or psychological reasons but drawn to this particular place by their kinship ties. Often several such clusters of homesteads close to one another, the owners of which are linked among themselves by ties of lineage or kinship, are grouped round men who are themselves linked by lineage or kinship. They are the original settlers, or more usually the sons or grandsons of the original settlers, who built their homesteads far apart from one another so as to have ample land for cultivation close at hand, and then 'cut' (*yma*) parcels of this land for the immigrants who filtered in subsequently.

In these conditions a great deal of intermarriage takes place between neighbours and within the local community, since many different clans are represented in the community. Tallensi are more inclined to marry people who live nearby than to take spouses from a distance; and at Datɔk marriage between the children of men who happen to be neighbours because of their kinship with a third man, but are themselves not related, is very common.[1] This weaves the mesh of kinship ties yet more finely, binding neighbour to neighbour still more closely and firmly.

It is evident that the corporate life of a community like Datɔk—and this applies only in a lesser degree to other peripheral settlements of mixed origins—must differ in many ways from that of the older settlements. Two clans, Gar and Gbɔn, are numerically and politically dominant at Datɔk, just as Zoo is at Biuŋ, and the Hill Talis are at Mɔyaduur, and the people of these numerically superior clans or lineages can co-operate and unite for action in the same way as the segments of the clan do in the old settlements. People who have very few or no clansmen or lineage brothers in the settlement are in a different position. In Tale jural and ceremonial relations all matters of importance are dealt with corporately by lineages. Thus, if a Ba'ari man living at Datɔk suffers a bereavement, takes a wife, marries off a daughter, gets involved in a dispute, or has to make an important sacrifice, he has to call upon the elders of his lineage and clan at Ba'ari to support him in the action required. His extra-clan kinsmen at Datɔk cannot give him corporate assistance, though they would be individually helpful. Similarly he takes part in the economic, jural, and ceremonial events in which his Datɔk neighbours and kinsmen are involved only as an individual actuated by ties of personal kinship and concern for the welfare of particular people. In other words, these outlying settlements are still politically inchoate. They are still mainly social and political apanages of the older settlements from which they have been colonized; very many of their members are still tied into the structure of their natal clan-settlements, and are still

[1] I state this in a general way, as I did not take a sufficiently large sample of marriages at Datɔk to give a numerical indication of the extent of marriage within the settlement.

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621 613 ●177 loyal to the interests of these clan settlements. But the political structure of the newer settlements is rapidly crystallizing out, on the basis of a territorial unity reinforced by inter-individual kinship ties. This process has been greatly accelerated under the influence of British rule, with its stress on the territorial definition of political units and the support it gives to chiefs and headmen in the exercise of administrative and judicial functions.

Seniority and Authority in the Lineage

613 182 In the course of our morphological analysis of the lineage system from within, we have made many references to the corporate activities in which this system emerges. As in our study of clanship, it has been convenient to speak as if the lineage structure exists and persists apart from the activities in which it emerges. But this is only an analytical device which we shall consider more fully presently. The implied distinction between the structure of the lineage and its functions does, however, bring out the important fact that the lineage structure is more than any of its functions. It is the integral of what is common to all Tale institutions in which the patrilineal line operates as an organizing principle. It is the general factor of consistency, coherence, and continuity in the social structure.

613 The concept of social structure essentially implies ordered extension *in time* as well as ordered articulation *at a given time*. This is often overlooked in the study of primitive society. Among the Tallensi the lineage system enables us to see the operation of the time factor in social structure in a very concrete way.[1] We see how the lineage structure at a given time incapsulates[2] all that is structurally relevant of its past phases and at the same time continually thrusts its growing-points forward. The dynamic equilibrium of a lineage is an equilibrium in time.

The key position, whenever a lineage emerges in function—and this applies to lineages of any span and all orders of segmentation—is that of the lineage head (*kpeem*). He is, to revert to an analogy previously used, the keystone of the arch. He does not stand above the lineage; he is part of it. *Kpeem* literally means 'senior': a *kpeem* is a senior, an elder. The head of the lineage is the most senior male of the group. The head of a lineage and his age or generation equals in the lineage are collectively designated 'the elders (*kpɛm*)'. They are for the most part the heads of the component segments of the lineage.

613 888 The rule of seniority, as might be expected in so homogeneous and equalitarian a society, plays an important part in all Tale social relations. When a group of boys are out herding cattle the oldest among them are in charge. The women of a household defer to the most senior by generation, age, or marital status among them. In all collective activities of men the places of honour are taken by the most senior men, the *kpɛm*. Seniority commands deference at all times.

[1] Cf. my paper 'The Significance of Descent in Tale Social Structure' *loc. cit. supra*; also Forde, op. cit. and his previous papers cited there; and a brilliant discussion of this point in E. E. Evans-Pritchard's *The Nuer*, ch. 3.

[2] I owe this valuable concept to R. G. Collingwood's *Autobiography*.

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to enforcement by explicit or implicit sanctions—it prevailed only within the clan or a cluster of closely interrelated clans, or between individual kinsfolk of different clans. Even so, every line of social cleavage was a source of weakness to the sanctions of right. It needed very little temptation or provocation for men of different clans or maximal lineages, however close the links between their respective groups, to lay violent hands on one another's property, person, or dependants. There was a general atmosphere of non-cognizance of rights *as such*. Times of crisis, such as famine, brought about a relapse into lawlessness.

In consequence the ultimate sanction of jural rights outside the clan was self-help. If a man could not recover a wife who had been abducted or a bride-price debt owing to him through the intermediation of the elders of his clan and those of the abductor's or debtor's clan, he had the right to use self-help and make a raid on the cattle of the offender's clan. This was legitimate and reprisals were not allowed. If the offender were to attempt any, his clansmen would not support him. But these raids might result in an armed clash with the cattle herds. Men might be killed; and then war flared up.

But raiding (*gɔk*), as a measure of self-help, in itself was not an act of war. It led to war if men were killed, but not if there were no bloodshed. Sometimes, even if a raid ended in an affray and men were killed, a reconciliation was made before an interclan fight could develop. The Tallensi distinguished precisely between raiding, as a method of self-help which they considered a legitimate jural device for redressing a wrong, and warfare. The custom of raiding reinforced warfare because it provided occasions for armed clashes and because of the habit of mind that lay behind it. Though this habit ran counter to the moral repugnance of the Tallensi to shedding human blood, it tolerated the use of violence as the proper ultimate means of asserting one's rights. This attitude still survives, to some extent. Men still carry their weapons when they go on a journey. Disputes over wives or unpaid debts sometimes bring the parties to the brink of a sanguinary fight. One reason why these fights are suppressed by the natives themselves before they become serious is the fear of the white man with his armed police in the background. Another and more powerful reason is the system of chiefs' tribunals and District Commissioners' courts imposed by the British. This judicial system has become an established part of native life. It has provided an effectively sanctioned alternative to self-help and made the latter obsolete (cf. p. 13). But in the past the attitude of mind we have described led the natives to think of warfare in its corporate aspect as a mechanism for redressing wrongs that could not otherwise be put right. Considering their lack of a single, all-embracing government and their segmentary social structure, it was inevitable that conflicts should often arise that could only be settled by fighting.[1]

[1] In this connexion it is worth noting that the Tallensi have only one term, *saber*, for every kind of fighting, from a quarrel between co-wives to a war. But, in addition, war was distinguished by referring to it euphemistically as 'arrows' (*peema*). Thus a war is identified as 'the arrows of so-and-so', after its chief instigator.

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ritual collaboration in a series of complementary relations the proper maintenance of which they believe to be indispensable for their common welfare. This is the basis of the ritual sanctions against instigating war and shedding blood and of the moral repugnance associated with them. A war temporarily upset the equilibrium of Tale society; it could not destroy it.

The social system of the Tallensi, in its widest extent, is held together by its religious superstructure. Its unity is none the less real because it appears only on the highest plane of common religious values known to the natives. As we have noted, the complementary politico-ritual offices of the chiefship, which is typically a Namoo office, and the tɛndaanaship, typically an office found amongst non-Namoos, constitute the focus of the institutions that maintain this unity; and the annual cycle of the Great Festivals are at once the chief sanction and the supreme expression of it. The coming of the white man has made very little difference to the way these institutions operate in relation to the fundamental structure of Tale society. They continue to be the crowning mechanism of equilibrium in Tale society, because its segmentary social structure has kept its traditional form and vitality. It is possible, though not demonstrable, that only a strong and universally accepted religious sanction could hold such a society together. In practice the equilibrium is achieved by the distribution of mutually complementary offices among the segments of the society, all of which are essential for the performance of definite ritual duties.

It is a significant index of the type of social system presented by the Tallensi that the widest range of social solidarity found among them is evoked by their Great Festivals. Great stress is laid on the ritually sanctioned truce to all fighting or discord between clans or maximal lineages during the Festivals. That is why marriages are forbidden during the *Gɔlib* Festival. The Festival Cycle begins with the Harvest Festivals. These are celebrated by single clans or groups of linked maximal lineages independently of one another and serve to enhance the sense of clan and lineage solidarity. The climax is the *Gɔlib* Festival, immediately before the rains. This gives ritual sanction and dramatic expression to the idea of the close-knit interdependence of all the Tallensi with one another. Its reiterated themes are the common interests of all the Tallensi—food, peace, and fecundity—which must be achieved if they are to survive, and the supreme common values—the cult of the ancestors and of the Earth—by which the whole of Tale social life is steered. The lesson of *Gɔlib*, to the Tallensi, is that men cannot realize their greatest common interests or pursue their greatest common purposes in mutual enmity. *Gɔlib* is the most powerful counterweight to war and to the tendency of each clan and maximal lineage to set its own corporate interests above the common interest of the whole society. It is noteworthy that the Great Festivals do not presuppose the suspension of the primary loyalties of the segments that make up Tale society. They represent a synthesis, for the time being, of these primary loyalties—a synthesis that is possible only by giving full scope to the feeling of clan and maximal lineage unity and singularity in each group. *Gɔlib* emphasizes the mutual dependence of Namoos and Talis, but it does this by simultaneously enhancing the

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husband. In both types of case conflicts reflect the importance of wives as a common interest of the lineage and clan.

But the chief source of intra-clan discord is rival claims to priority in the exercise of rights of a politico-ritual nature, which are generally vested in lineages and are associated with the dominant values of the society. The conflict may be precipitated by a clash of personalities. But very often the underlying pressure comes from a change in the internal constitution of the lineage that has been taking place gradually with the passage of the generations and is not yet recognized. In the course of two or three generations an inner lineage may ramify so widely that its members claim the status of a medial lineage when it comes to succeeding to the headship of a more inclusive lineage, and this claim may be resisted by the other branches of the more inclusive lineage. It is such conflicts that eventually get resolved by the setting up of a new equilibrium in which the change is recognized by the redistribution of reciprocal rights and obligations. Intra-clan discord is often due to the universal human propensity to resist infringements of one's recognized social rights or one's self-regard; or to the complementary tendency for individuals to assert themselves by aggressive action. But it is probably more often a phase in the structural development of a lineage or clan, a symptom of a hitherto unrecognized internal change in its structure. This does not make the conflict less acute or disturbing while it lasts; but it does mean that there are always social forces at work that counteract the conflict even while it is going on and will prevent it from disrupting the corporate group entirely.

These processes are so characteristic of the social system of the Tallensi that they could be illustrated from the contemporary history of any clan or maximal lineage. Tallensi say that intra-clan conflicts have increased since the coming of the white man. They maintain that the suppression of warfare and of self-help, and the new freedom of movement, have greatly diminished lineage and clan solidarity. People no longer need the help of their kinsmen as much as they used to. But careful inquiry shows that intra-clan discord was as common forty or fifty years ago as to-day and sometimes more violent. Many of the most deep-seated and intractable antagonisms within and between lineages or clans to-day go back to conflicts that began fifty or sixty years ago. 578 618x 177

A typical instance is the dispute between the Gbizug tendaana and the Gbeog tendaana which began with the immediate predecessors of the present tendaanas. The dispute concerns the degree of autonomy to which the Gbeog tendaana is entitled in his ritual jurisdiction over the *tey* of Gbeog (see p. 87). He claims full autonomy. The Gbizug tendaana as 'elder brother' (*bier*) in ritual status of the Gbeog tendaana, and head of the senior maximal lineage of the clan, citing ancient custom, claims to have an over-right over the Gbeog tendaana. He says that the Gbeog tendaana is simply his deputy and should therefore render to him the perquisites that a tendaana receives for the performance of such ritual services as marking out graves. The men of Gbizug are unreservedly on the side of their lineage head. The men of Gbeog are torn between their loyalty to their maximal lineage and the greater solidarity 793 578

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682 Similarly there is the prohibition against homicide within the clan. It is a moral prohibition, a taboo (*kihər*), the overt sanction being that the slayer's segment and the victim's segment cannot again sacrifice together. This is shown equally by the fact that vengeance is prohibited, in accordance with the maxim 'It is (as if) a cow had trampled its calf to death (*naah n-nɔ bu bii ku*)', and will be prevented by the elders if necessary by forcibly restraining the victim's segment brothers. Hence comes the prohibition, also, against raiding (*yɔk*) within the clan or between linked clans.

578 613 To sum up, there is an undercurrent of tension in every clan and lineage arising directly out of its segmentary structure. From time to time this breaks out in conflict. But in the long run lineage solidarity prevails. The pattern is the same as in the total socio-geographic region of Tale society.

Modern Factors of Disequilibrium

A. *British Rule*

578 182 The suppression of warfare is a symptom of the changed political circumstances of the Tallensi. New forces are beginning to affect their social structure, creating new internal tensions that threaten the supremacy of the ancient sanctions of cohesion. Though the traditional politico-ritual institutions are still the most powerful determinants of corporate relations within and between clans and maximal lineages, the tendency of the new forces is to work against the traditional social equilibrium. As we have seen, the natives themselves stress this.

177 175 578 622 The most pervasive and most powerful of these new factors is British rule. Its greatest achievement has been the enforcement of peace and the substitution of an embryonic judicial organization for the arbitrament of the bow and arrow. Up till 1933, when the reorganization of the system of local government in the Northern Territories was inaugurated, the Administration aimed at creating a centralized, pyramidal organization of executive authority among the clan heads of the Tallensi, under the leadership of the Chief of Tongo. To further this aim the Administration gave its support to certain headmen and chiefs in their dealings with their own clans and with one another. These men were vested with powers which they had never previously held and which had no relation to the native social structure. Coercion and extortion were practised, under cover of meeting the requirements of the white man. Where these requirements were concerned, the system worked, though far from satisfactorily. But constant friction between the chiefs and headmen constituting this artificial hierarchy was inevitable owing to the contradiction between it and the segmentary pattern of the native social structure. For, as we have seen, the native social structure, like the traditional economy and the age-old ritual ideas and values of the people, has preserved its vitality in relation to the social interests and ends which it has always served and still subserves.

177 578 622 Whenever these interests and ends are paramount, as at the times of the Great Festivals, the factional rivalries stirred up by the new dis-

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pensation sink into the background, the sanctions inherent in the native social structure prevail, and the traditional ties of politico-ritual collaboration come into force. But when the new interests brought into being by the influence of the British Administration come to the fore, the traditional social ties and the sanctions associated with them no longer prevail. For among the Tallensi, as among ourselves, such ties and sanctions do not function at all times and in all circumstances. They work in the context of the scheme of social relationships of which they form a part and not in other contexts. These new interests mobilize the existing corporate units of Tale society. Thus they tend to deepen some of the cleavages that exist, and to weaken the countervailing ties, between lineages and clans. It is noteworthy that rivalry for the rewards of political power under the British Administration is most acute between clans that have close ties in the native social system. As was the case with war in former days, clans and maximal lineages that are widely separated from one another, either locally or in terms of their fields of social relations, cannot come into conflict or competition with one another. Thus political rivalry between the Chief of Tongo and his 'younger brother' the Chief of Yamalag is severe and has led to estrangement between these two branches of Mosuor biis. But there is no political rivalry between the Chief of Tongo and the Chief of Datok. Competition for politico-ritual office within clans is fiercer than it was in the past and less scrupulous, though it still follows the lines of cleavage in the lineage structure.

At the same time some chiefs have used their new powers to weld their clans into closer unity on the political plane than existed in the old days. This has happened at Tongo and at Sie. But it has not been to the benefit of the social balance in the greater society. By strengthening the autocratic ambitions of these chiefs, the closer unity of their clans has tended to aggravate the antagonisms between clans.

B. *Pecuniary Competition among the Hill Talis*

A new factor of disequilibrium that has had a very disturbing influence among the Hill Talis is pecuniary competition which has become associated with certain traditional institutions. Many families nowadays obtain driblets of money through members of the family working abroad, or by petty trade. But the pecuniary competition we are referring to concerns money on a scale unprecedented in Tale history; and its disruptive influence is due to its association with a traffic in ritual benefits comparable to that of the notorious Southern Nigerian oracles.

The centre of this traffic is the Tong Hills, and its disruptive influence has been greatest among the Hill Talis, where it has brought violent competition into the sphere of the common ritual interests and values which form the bulwark of their cohesion. The integration of the Hill Talis in the native social structure depends, as we have seen, on a meticulous balance of local, clanship, and ritual ties and cleavages focused in the politico-ritual offices vested in the heads of maximal lineages. So nicely calculated is the distribution of these politico-ritual functions amongst the various maximal lineages that none can claim

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This aspect of the *Bɔyar* cult had great economic and social importance, in the past, for the Hill Talis. The pilgrims bring gifts of salt, cloth, hoes and so forth, nominally for the *Bɔyar*, that is, the Primordial Ancestor, who is believed to manifest himself in the oracular voice. Actually these gifts are secretly shared among the heads of the maximal lineages which own the particular *Bɔyar*. Nowadays these gifts are of small, though by no means negligible, worth, for all these commodities can be bought in any market, far more cheaply than in the past. But in the past they represented a valuable source of supply of scarce and highly prized goods.

Again, the visits of the pilgrims are annually reciprocated by a visit to the client village of representatives of the Tali lineage which is its sponsor with the *Bɔyar* to which it owes ritual allegiance. These ritual visits are made in order to consecrate local shrines representing the *Bɔyar*, to release pilgrims and children born to them from special taboos, and to perform the ritual shaving of the children by which they are formally placed under the spiritual guardianship of the *Bɔyar*. But these services are paid for in cowries and other gifts, and portions of the animals sacrificed are taken home and added to the meat supply of the sponsors. Young men go along on these ritual tours carrying fowls for sale in the client villages, and sometimes buy grain or yams in return.

The pilgrim traffic was, therefore, in former times an economic asset of the first importance as the Hill Talis and their neighbours themselves point out. It gave them also a wider range of social and cultural relationships than their own restricted community. People travelling to and from the Tong Hills on ritual errands carried the sacred emblems of the *Bɔyar* cult and were safe from molestation.

Some twenty years ago the pilgrim traffic took a new turn. Tallensi were coming into contact with Ashanti and the coast, and thus news of the Tong Hills 'fetishes' reached those areas. Men from the Hills, with a mixture of inborn business acumen and sincere faith in the magical powers of their oracle cult, advertised the cult quietly. A trickle of pilgrims from these wealthy and comparatively sophisticated areas began to flow northwards. And the trickle soon became a broad stream. Rich and poor, farmers, traders, chiefs, commoners, literate and illiterate, pagans and Christians joined the stream. To-day this traffic is a major industry of the Tong Hills.

These pilgrims[1] from the south come with extraordinarily varied wishes to lay before the *Bɔyar*. They beg for children, for health, for wealth, for power, for the success of farming and business enterprises, for victory in litigation, for help in a career or in the prosecution of political aims. Most important of all, Ashanti and Colony medicine men come to purchase the privilege of ritual clientship of the *Bɔyar*. They receive the right to

[1] I am indebted to Dr. M. J. Field, formerly Government Anthropologist, Gold Coast, for some information on the Colony end of this traffic. See also her *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People* for references to 'Nana Tongo' and her paper 'Some New Shrines of the Gold Coast and their Significance', *Africa*, xiii. 2, 1940. Rattray, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 361 ff., gives a vivid description of the ceremony at the Tɔnna'ab *Bɔyar* when hundreds of southern pilgrims come to present their pleas and register their vows.

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food, beer, tobacco, kola nuts, and household and farming equipment, must be hoarded. One result has been that the Gəlibdaana's ambitions have been enormously inflated. He has been striving to turn his wealth into prestige. He would fain be a great chief, and has for years been scheming and intriguing to this end. As is common in African societies to which European contact has opened up new economic opportunities that are wholly or partially divorced from their own social structure and economic system, the Gəlibdaana's response to the opportunity offered by the pilgrim traffic has been a mixture of cupidity, calculation, and unbridled self-interest.

The point of interest here is the effect of the Gəlibdaana's monopoly on the interrelations of the Hill Talis clans. All the other clans of the Hills view it with open envy, in particular Kpata'ar, the clan immediately contiguous with the Gəlibdaana's clan, Bunkiuk. The people of Kpata'ar claim political superiority to Bunkiuk, on the strength of their being (as they assert) *primus inter pares* in the scheme of ritual collaboration among the Hill clans. They therefore demand the lion's share of the pilgrim traffic with the south, though they are now wholly excluded from it. The other clans of the Hills excluded from this traffic make similar but smaller demands. It is, in effect, a demand for a distribution of the profits of this new economic application of the *Bɔyar* cult on the same lines as the distribution of the traditional client villages. In the traditional arrangement the economic exploitation of the cult follows the accepted principles of equality and equilibrium in the social system. Each of the dozen or so *Bɔya* of the Hill Talis had its group of client communities exclusively reserved for it and there were no great variations between the profits of one *Bɔyar* and another.

An immediate result has been that the Gəlibdaana no longer exercises undisputed headmanship, as the executive agent of the Administration, over all the Tɛnzugu clans. In 1933 he was in control of all the Tɛnzugu clans in all matters falling under the jurisdiction of the Administration. He called out the young men for road building or rest-house repairs; exacted a tribute from all independent householders living on top of the Hills or entitled to live there; and judged all cases brought against Tɛnzugu people or sent on cases from Tɛnzugu to other headmen or chiefs. Since 1936 the Kpata'ar faction has refused to submit to his control in these matters. Meanwhile the Administration has ruled that neither the Gəlibdaana nor the Kpata'arna'ab shall be recognized as headman of the Tɛnzugu clans until the people have settled among themselves which of them is rightfully entitled to the post. So there are now two headmen.

To-day a silent feud, taking the form of intrigue and conspiracies to undermine one another's reputation with the Administration, rages among the Hill Talis. On one side stands the Gəlibdaana and his faction, the nucleus of which is the majority of his own maximal lineage; on the other the factions hostile to him, chief of which is the maximal lineage of the Kpata'arna'ab. The struggle has become so acute, on several occasions, that bloodshed was only prevented by the fear of stern intervention by the District Commissioner.

The feud follows the lines of cleavage between clans and maximal

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621 lineages inherent in the native social structure. The majority of the
622 Golibdaana's own maximal lineage share in the profits of his monopoly
and are solidly behind him; the maximal lineages of the leaders of the
●177 opposition are solidly against him; but many of the maximal lineages that
578 have clanship or ritual links with both sides are split. Many of the young men of these lineages side with the Golibdaana—enticed, their elders say bitterly, by his lavish gifts. The older men are uneasily neutral or tacitly opposed to the Golibdaana because he has brought dissension to the Hills and has flouted some of the ancient ritual customs. Both parties try to manœuvre the opposition into a position which will set the Administration in motion against them; the leaders of both parties say that the white man's authority is the only force that will help them to victory. And they feel particularly bitter because the vigilance of Administrative officers has frustrated all their efforts to exploit this potent sanction.

At the same time they try to use the sanctions of their own social structure to gain their aims. For outside the struggle for control of the pilgrim traffic, the ties of clanship, kinship, and ritual collaboration remain valid as before. During the Great Festivals the feud sinks into temporary abeyance. The Golibdaana and the Kpata'arna'ab speak with hatred of each other when it is a question of political power or the pilgrim traffic; they continue to perform those rites of the Great Festivals and of the Earth cult in which they are ritually obliged to collaborate, with apparent cordiality. This is a 'separate thing' they declare. It would be an appalling sin bringing catastrophe on the whole country, they say, if they threw over these bonds.

But the new alinements in the pecuniary struggle and the traditional social structure cannot be kept apart in watertight compartments. The Kpata'arna'ab and the Golibdaana try to coerce each other through their mutual ritual obligations. They try to put pressure on each other through maximal lineages that are intercalary between their lineages; and to win over the other maximal lineages with which they have clanship or ritual ties.

Experienced elders maintain, with the sceptical candour that is one of the few charms Tallensi have for an ethnographer, that this can never decide the issue. Putting it at its highest, the bonds of clanship, kinship, and ritual collaboration are a double-edged weapon. If Kpata'ar tries to coerce Samiit to side with it by refusing to collaborate with Samiit in the rites of their common External *Bɔŋar*, the ancestors might well blame Kpata'ar and punish them. Tallensi are not—so the old men say—restrained from doing something to their personal advantage by the fear of mystical penalties. 'Who fears death before death comes upon you?' It is only after a death occurs that the survivors see in it signs and omens referring to their social relations with one another.

578 Whenever a death occurs in any of the Hill clans, especially if it is the
764 death of an important person, the chronic discord between them is openly recollected. It is both a symptom of the general feeling of uneasiness and a move in the game of attempted mutual coercion by mystical sanctions. A funeral almost inevitably causes this feeling to be ventilated. For people of all the Tenzugu and many other clans are present, as kinsfolk, affines,

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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578 neighbours, and friends of the deceased. They feel the contradiction
764 between their mutual bonds of amity with one another as kin or friends and their latent hostility, in other situations, as members of opposed corporate units. Thus it often happens that when a diviner is publicly consulted
[787] about the mystical cause of the death, he attributes it to the anger of the ancestors or the Earth over the disharmony on the hills. Even if this is not the diviner's verdict, the faction opposing that to which the dead man belonged will interpret his death in this sense. Thus when the Sakpee tɛndaana died, the men of Kpata'ar, including some of his own matrilateral kinsmen, were secretly almost jubilant. They were convinced that this death was a punishment, and a warning from the ancestors, for his defection from the Kpata'ar party to the Gɔlibdaana's side; for the Sakpee tɛndaana is one of the ritual officers of the External *Bɔyar* of which Kpata'ardɛm are the senior custodians, as we have previously seen.

613 Up to now these mystical warnings have not been heeded. They have,
578 at most, reinforced the tendency for the heads of maximal lineages to
787 aline themselves on the same side as the maximal lineages with which they have ties of clanship and of ritual collaboration. For obviously these ties have greatest efficacy for the individuals who hold the offices through which they are normally expressed. The rank-and-file members of the lineages concerned often persist in the path of greatest self-interest. Nor have these warnings helped to mitigate the struggle between the Gɔlibdaana's maximal lineage and the other lineages which take the lead in opposing him. To-day, as in the days of warfare, a man can keep up cordial personal relations with a kinsman in the opposite camp. He will not, because of his personal kinship ties with the enemy, contract out of his own lineage in issues affecting its corporate unity—least of all when the motive of profit is added to the bonds of lineage solidarity.

622 The disturbing effects of the Gɔlibdaana's pecuniary enterprise have
578 not been limited to Tɛnzugu. He has come into conflict with Yinduuri by
621 claiming jurisdiction over a section of Zandoya that has always been regarded as coming within the field of social and politico-ritual relations of Yinduuri (see p. 163). He is not on speaking terms with the Bɔyaraana of Sii, who claims to be the senior ritual functionary of the Wannii *Bɔyar* as well as the senior chief of all the Talis, and therefore demands control of the pilgrim traffic with the south. He has gravely offended the Chief of Tongo, his own brother-in-law, by wrongfully assuming the insignia and aping the etiquette of a superior chief, and by bribing the Paramount Chief of the Mamprusi to invest him with the rank of a chief of high status. But for the intervention of the Administration this particular
[777] quarrel would already have led to serious disturbances, for the people of Tongo are extremely jealous of the rank and status of their chiefship and unanimously resent the Gɔlibdaana's presumption. It is notable that they do not in the least envy the Gɔlibdaana his pecuniary monopoly. Frankly despising the fertility and oracle aspects of the *Bɔyar* cult as a piece of fraudulent magic, they look on the money gained through the pilgrim traffic as tainted. In this matter Namoos and Talis have not
[477] got a sphere of common interests within which they might be rivals. The interests of Tongo and Bunkiuk intersect only in relation to the

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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nephews but more distant cognatic and even affinal kin frequently live with a kinsman until they can set up in their own homesteads.

Sometimes, too, an unmarried sister's child (*tau-bii*) may grow up and live in its uncle's family. It may be an illegitimate child (*yi yeem bii*—a maiden's child), or one whose mother's bride-price was not paid, and who therefore belongs to her father unless or until it is redeemed (*pɔhɔg*) by the payment of a cow by its genitor or his heir. A sister's child is to all intents and purposes a child of the family. But not being of the true agnatic line, it is subject to certain jural disabilities which have no consequence for a girl but handicap a boy, as we have previously seen.

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The domestic families of chiefs and headmen are unusual only in respect of size. Their newly won riches enable chiefs and headmen to acquire numerous wives and to maintain households that appear enormous in the eyes of the ordinary man. A petty headman may have ten or more wives. The late Chief of Tongo, a chief of modest means compared with some of his peers in Taleland, had more than thirty. The Golibdaana of Tɪnzugu has at least eighty. The Chief of Datoko is reputed to have a hundred, but he denies this and claims to have only a modest fifty. Except that their domestic economy and organization is more complex and that there is at times more friction between the womenfolk, these hypertrophied joint families have the same pattern of organization as those of ordinary folk.

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It is noteworthy that this pattern has not been disturbed by the social changes which have, in recent years, followed the subjection of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast to European political, economic, and cultural influences. Family disorganization has barely begun to appear in Taleland. There is hardly a domestic family in the country—not one in our sample—which has wholly escaped the effects of these contact influences. One or more of their members is or has been abroad in Mampurugu, Ashanti, or the Colony, for longer or shorter periods of time, farming, working for wages, or trading. But the number of men abroad, at any given time, for very long periods is relatively small[1] compared with other parts of West and Southern Africa, and their absence has little effect on the structure of the residual family. Their labour is lost to the family, but as they are no longer a drain on its resources this does not upset its internal economy. Similarly, as they are mostly young men[2] with little or no responsibility for the management of family

[1] Estimates based on my own census material and on Nominal Rolls drawn up by Administrative Officers for tax collection show that an average of just under 7 per cent. of the adult male population of Taleland were away from home and not likely to return in the immediate future, in the years 1936 to 1939. This estimate may be compared with the 60–80 per cent. of able-bodied adult males absent from tribal reserves in Northern Rhodesia and Nyassaland quoted by Lord Hailey, *African Survey*, p. 701.

[2] Reliable information on the ages of these absentees cannot be obtained. But from personal contact with many of them, both on their return home and

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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affairs, their absence does not disturb jural or ritual relations centred in the family. It is like a tree which remains a tree morphologically and physiologically even if some of its minor branches have been lopped off.

The foregoing is true of the great majority of Tale families. The structure of the normal family can still be accurately described without reference to contact influence, in spite of the fact that a few families can be found in every settlement which have been badly mutilated by the prolonged absence abroad of their male members. Admittedly the norms of family relations have not remained completely insulated from these influences. With the ease of modern communications and the openings for work abroad, young people have incentives and opportunities which their fathers never had for resisting the authority of their elders and for breaking away from the family for a longer or shorter time. But as yet these new incentives and opportunities appear only as modifying factors in the play of the culturally defined family relations. They do not represent a conflicting set of norms, creating divisions within Tale society. For instance, a young man who is still jurally a minor cannot at will leave the domestic family to which he belongs by birth and set up an independent household. He can do so only in compliance with the moral rules and social conventions that regulate the fission of families. In fact, the motive to break away will only arise when certain standard changes take place in the composition of the domestic unit to which he belongs, or when he reaches a stage of social maturity which precipitates certain standard tensions between him and the head of the unit. The alternative for a young man who, in these days, hankers after independence is to leave the community until such time as he is prepared to settle down. He has to seek work abroad, in Ashanti or the Colony, or in the service of the white man nearer home. He is assured of a cordial welcome home whenever he decides to return, whether it be for a few weeks only or permanently. But if he makes up his mind to settle down at home it can only be within the existing social framework, and this means complying with the norms of family organization. There is no other way by which he can get married or acquire a house site or farm-land in his natal settlement, let alone play his part in community affairs. Hitherto these norms have been so well maintained that no returned emigrant has been known to flout them.

Summing up, we see that the Tale domestic system has three morphological strata. It consists of a segmentary economic formation—households of different dimensions and degrees of economic self-sufficiency—embraced within a segmentary jural and ceremonial formation—domestic units not necessarily congruent with households grouped under family heads—and this again contained within a system of residential grouping in which the changes of phase in domestic structure are crystallized.

in places like Kumasi, I can say with certainty that the great majority are under 30.

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

82 9 or 10 the children are thoroughly familiar with the ecological environ-
861 ment of their clan settlements. They know the economically important trees, grasses, and herbs, e.g., a girl of about 9 once named and showed me nine varieties of herbs used for making soup. They have a fair idea of the gross anatomy of the fowl, small field animals, and larger live stock. But apart from these achievements which lead one to infer the existence of an interest in the natural environment, I was able to obtain some direct evidence thereof. The natives say that small children frequently ask questions about people and things they see around them. However, listening to children's talk for 'why' questions,[1] I was surprised to note how rarely they occurred; and the few instances I recorded refer to objects or persons foreign to the normal routine of Tale life. It would seem that Tale children rarely have to ask 'why' in regard to the people and things of their normal environment because so much of their learning occurs in real situations where explanation is generally coupled with instruction, and because they hear so much adult discussion, in terms of cause and effect, as these are understood by the Tallensi, of the things they are interested in. Yet two examples will prove that even quite small children react with exploratory interest to what is new and unusual. I gave some tiny tin figures of animals to a group of small children to play with. A little boy of about 5 looked intently at the figure of a horse. 'Why does he stoop like that?' he asked, speaking to himself rather than to his companions. But immediately he answered his own question, 'He is eating grass.' On another occasion I observed the 3-year-old son of our cook, pointing to the garbage tin, ask the horseboy: 'Why has that got a lid?'

857 Again, making clay figures is a favourite diversion of small boys
177 and adolescents. The standard figures are men and women, cows and
532 horses. But a youngster of about 9 or 10 once produced a motor-cycle, explaining that he had recently seen the Agricultural Officer arrive on one. Another boy, a little older, once made a roan antelope, explaining that some two years previously he had seen one of these animals which, fleeing from a hunting party, had entered the settlement and been surrounded and killed there.

128 I have not attempted to give an exhaustive account of the interests

[1] See N. Isaacs in *Intellectual Growth of Young Children*.

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

On any day in the dry season or the first half of the rainy season one can find a group of girls playing at housekeeping. Most commonly they consist of a group of sisters and ortho-cousins—two to four active participants with, perhaps, a couple of infants attached. Often one or two small boys of about 5 or 6 are in their company, sharing in their play or absorbed in their own separate play. In play, as in the simple economic duties, there is as yet no marked sex dichotomy at this age; and small boys are not ridiculed for 'grinding grain' and 'cooking porridge', or small girls for 'building houses' in play. The girls generally constitute a mixed age group, varying from 6 to 10–11 years, for even those who are already capable of real cooking enjoy playing at it. When they are of about equal maturity their play tends to be loosely organized. Each cooks for herself, but they help one another, lending one another 'utensils', 'grain', 'firewood', and exchanging 'dishes of porridge' like co-wives. When one girl is older than the others she tends to take the lead, and the smaller girls assist her on the pattern of daughter helping mother in real cooking. Infants are 'our children'; and reliable informants have told me that small boys are said to be the 'husbands'—but I have never observed boys being addressed thus, though I have watched housekeeping play very frequently. According to my observation, it is merely implied in the manner of distributing the 'cooked porridge', which follows the pattern of family feeding. Older girls sometimes introduce dolls as the 'children'—clay figures of people made by themselves or, more usually, for them by their brothers.

The essentials of the play consist in 'grinding flour', 'cooking sauce' and 'porridge', and 'sharing out' the 'food'. Every feature of the real processes is mimicked, but with the most ingenious imaginative adaptations. A pair of flattish stones or a boulder and a large pebble serve as 'grindstones'. For pots, dishes, calabashes, and ladles various things are used—old sherds chipped into roughly circular pieces the size of a half-crown or crown, fragments of old calabashes, the husks, whole or bisected, of *mələmək* or *kalampoo*, spherical fruits of common trees varying in size from that of a large marble to that of a cricket ball, and even old tins or bits of tins, while some girls make little pots of clay. Pebbles make a fire-place, a thin piece of millet-stalk is the stirring-stick, some dried grass the firewood.

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

Isolation.

An important economic feature of the district is its distance from the coast, 500 miles, and from rail head, 350 miles. This means expensive road transport precluding the possibility of all but local exports with the present prices ruling on the world's markets. The isolation is further emphasised by the fact that the main road to the South is not yet all-weather. Motor traffic is cut off from the end of May until the end of November, when the Volta rivers wash away the temporary dry season drifts. 131 491

European Contact.

Contact with Europeans has taken place only comparatively recently, *i.e.*, within about the last forty years, and for some time, soldiers, police, and political officers were the only "white men" known to the people; these were followed by medical and veterinary officers. It was not until 1930 that an agricultural officer visited the district in the growing season, and then only temporarily upon locust control duty. Observations made during this visit are recorded in the Department's Year Book for 1930 (4). In 1932 practically new ground had to be broken, and a natural suspicion, increased by not altogether unfounded rumours of direct taxation, had to be overcome before the people's confidence was obtained. The importance of this confidence for the success of our work requires no stressing. 177

Climate.

The main climatic feature of the district is a well defined rainy season, lasting from the beginning of April until the middle of November, alternating with an intensely dry season. The mean annual rainfall at Zuarungu is 43.92", at Navrongo 47.83", and at Bawku 41.20". Monthly means are given in Appendix I. The whole of North Mamprusi is included in the Sudanese Climatic Zone (5). Rainbearing winds come from the South East, but tornadoes from the East and North East mark the beginning and the end of the rainy season; then precipitations are very localised. From November until February or March the "harmattan" (5) wind blows with varying severity. 132

Vegetation—Trees.

The natural vegetation of North Mamprusi is "tree savannah" (6) with fringing forest along the banks of the larger rivers. In the populated parts of the district only trees of economic value, 137

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Nevertheless, although a shortage of cultivated foods does not necessarily mean starvation, it lowers resistance to disease and saps the energy of the people at the end of the dry season when they need strength to prepare their farms; thus setting up a "vicious circle". It is not the shortage of food in itself which is so arresting, however, as the apathy of the people to the shortage. Ancestor worship causes them to dwell in the past and to think insufficiently of the present and the future. This, too, is probably symptomatic of the unsettled conditions when only the past was certain. It will take some time for the people, the older people who control affairs especially, to adjust themselves to the swift developments going on around them. An unfortunate result is that during the period of adjustment, many of the young men are attracted away from the district to work for wages in Ashanti and the Colony, where there is a big demand for unskilled labour in the mines and in handling the cocoa crop. These young men do not as a rule stay away from home for long at a time, and usually return with a little money; but they do not take readily to farming again, and represent a floating population which is the source of considerable concern to their elders.

Economic Awakening.

An adequate food supply alone does not appear to be sufficient incentive for the adoption of better farming methods; and it is unlikely that changes will come until farming ceases to be regarded mainly as a custom, and becomes a business. There are many signs of an economic awakening, fostered by such factors as a growing desire of the people for imported commodities, and an increase in money consciousness; the completion of an all-weather road to the South; the opening of a gold mine at Nangodi; the developing trade in all classes of livestock with Ashanti and the Colony; the new trade in groundnuts from Bawku for the Kumasi market; together with the work of Government Departments in the improvement of human health, the health of livestock, and not least, the scope of the recently introduced Native Administrations. These are some of the factors helping to bring about a change which can be met only by better farming. Government must anticipate agricultural expansion to be in a position to control its development.

The first problem, obviously, is to ensure a sufficiency of food for everyone in every year. Then, when local requirements have been satisfied, it must be shown how a surplus can be disposed of profitably, to satisfy growing demands. Upon this the Department of Agriculture is working in North Mamprusi, and the results of the last four years' work form the basis of this bulletin.

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mounted on a similar handle. Hoe-blades are now made from scrap iron, mainly parts of old motor cars and old railway sleepers; a hoe is sold in the market for 2d. or 3d., which is well within the purchasing power of everyone. It is not many years, however, since hoes were made from locally smelted iron; they were then not so easy to come by and some of the poorer farmers used hoes of hard wood.

The coarse nature of the soil enables a shallow cultivation to be given effectively with these light implements after a fall of rain. When the ground is dry and hard, cultivation is very laborious and it is frequently neglected at a time when needed most. This is often the case early in the season when precarious rains make a soil-mulch desirable.

Preparation for Planting.

Two of the most important crops, early millet and guinea corn, are sown after the second big rain of the year, this is generally in the first week of April. The soil, which has been left untilled since the burn-over after the previous year's harvest, is very hard until humidity rises with the approaching rain, and there is very little time to do any preliminary cultivation. On the majority of farms the only preparation for sowing is to collect the remains of the previous season's crops into heaps and to burn, and sometimes to carry-out manure; very occasionally a little hoeing is done.

Planting Major Crops.

On the morning following the big planting rain the whole countryside turns out to do one of its few really full day's work on the farm for the year. Men walk over the farm with stout sticks about 6′ long, cut from "tcheea" (Nankani) (Anoegeissus leiocarpus), or "gopelaga" (Nankani) (Acacia sieberriana), sharpened at the end to a flat point, resembling a narrow-bladed oar; or sometimes fitted with a worn hoe blade. With these sticks, holes are prodded at random 2′ 6″ to 3′ apart in the moist earth; the soil being ejected with a twist of the wrists. Women and children follow the men with the seed of early millet and cowpeas mixed in a calabash. The calabash is held in the hand between the third and fourth fingers, and three to six seeds of early millet,